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# TOLSTOI AND INDIA

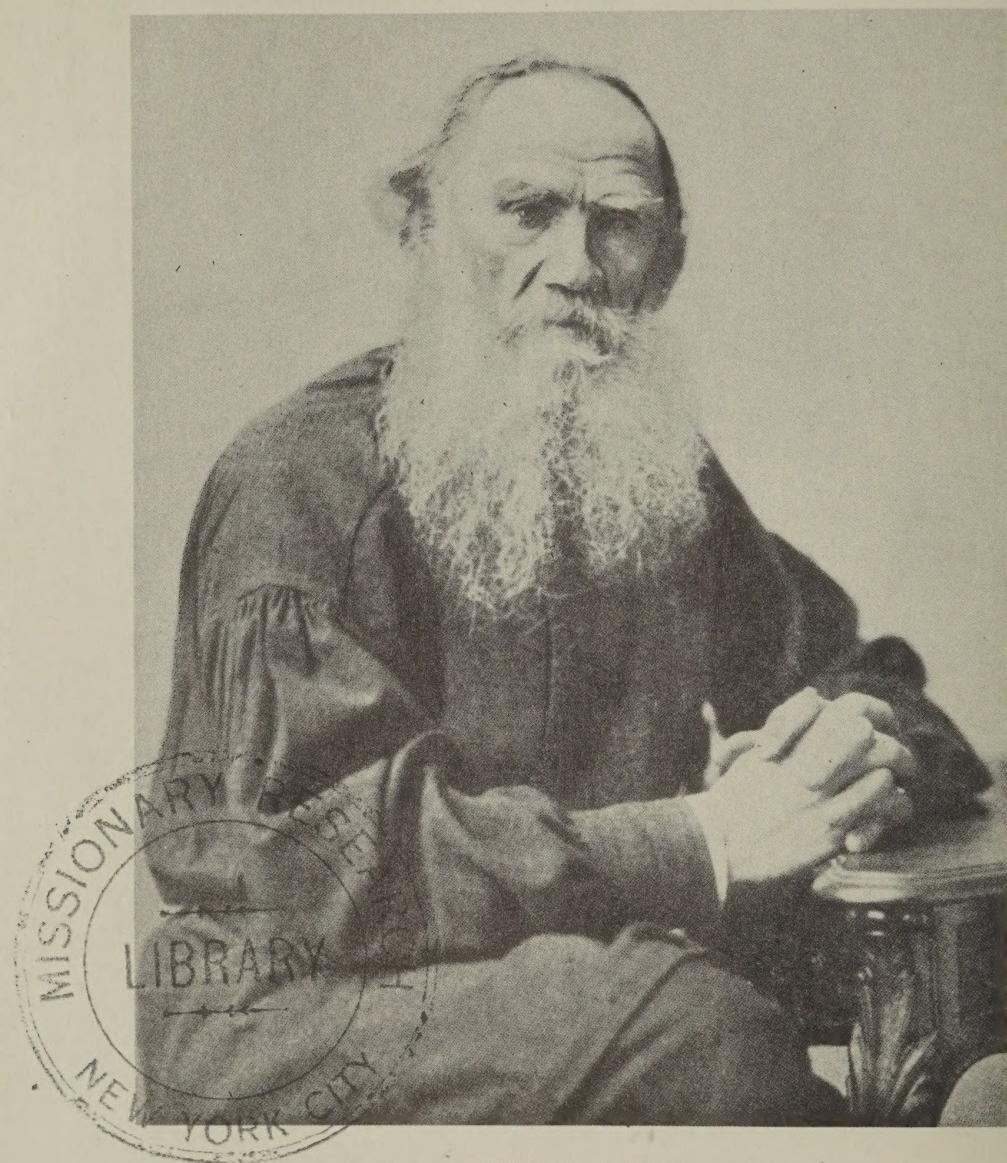
AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE STRUGGLE  
FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOI AND TARAKNATH DAS

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COUNT LEO TOLSTOI

Tolstoi's "Message to Young India" was perhaps his very last piece of literary work. This reprint has been undertaken because of the interest scholars have expressed in having the text made available to them, and because of the light these articles shed upon the history of the struggle for Indian freedom, as it was waged both inside and outside of India. Tolstoi's "Message" itself was written in reaction to the ideas expressed in "Free Hindusthan," published in this country from 1907 to 1910 as the organ of the Free Hindusthan movement.

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India -

Mass Movements

# TWENTIETH CENTURY MAGAZINE

VOL. I.

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NUMBER 2

## BRITISH RULE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMANDS OF INDIAN NATIONALISTS

By TARAKNATH DAS

Before the recent bloodless or peaceful revolution in Turkey, the western world knew little about the methods, aspirations, and work of the patriotic band of Young Turks. Indeed, the movement was looked upon by nearly all nations as something impracticable; and the noble band of workers for the cause of humanity was regarded as a bloodthirsty revolutionary body. Even after the declaration of a constitutional form of government in Turkey, leading journals of western civilization held that it was merely an announcement and would never come into actual practice. After the opening of the new Parliament, with its equal representation in proportion for all classes, the masterful action of that august body concerning the Balkan question astounded the world. Now the praises of the patriots are sung on all sides, and the English government is particularly enthusiastic over the triumph of those who strove to realize the national aspirations of the people.

I venture to say that India is passing through a stage of political transition. Her condition is somewhat similar to that of Turkey before the revolution. The only difference between the condition of Turkey and that of India is that Turkey had her own autocratic, absolute monarchy, while India is under a foreign rule which tyrannizes over the people through the most scientific and civilized methods of plunder and despotism.

The civilized world knows very little about the true situation in India. The London *Times* and other papers interested in the program of absolute

British supremacy, have fostered the idea that it is an anarchistic movement, precisely in the same way as Abdul Hamid's agents sought to misrepresent and discredit the Young Turk movement. In this article I shall state some plain, unvarnished facts relating to what is really going on in India; and in this manner I hope to throw some light on the unjust and despotic measures of the British bureaucracy, as well as expose the sophistry of the English press.

In the first place, let it be observed that there is nothing anarchistic in the Indian movement; but it is revolutionary. The young men who are its conspicuous leaders, who are denounced as anarchists, are but Nationalists of the most pronounced views. One of the most prominent of these, Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghose, confessed his faith during his trial and said that the object of the movement was to throw off the foreign yoke and establish independent government for the people of India.

There is a fundamental difference between anarchy and revolution. Anarchy does not believe in any form of government; but the Indian Nationalists are strong upholders of a representative system of government of their own. There is no just or truly representative government in India. The Indian Nationalists want a good government of their own, to substitute for the rotten and despotic one of the British bureaucracy.

Lord Morley, in his speech advocating his proposed reforms in India, termed the aspirations of the Indian Nationalists "their sinister and dishonest desires." If the United States was

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justified in throwing off the British yoke, if Italy could free herself from the Austrians and the Greeks from the Turks, the people of India can justly demand independence. In this connection *The Labor Leader* of London justly observes:

"It is always a 'sinister and dishonest desire' when any of the subject races of the British Empire desires freedom. The sympathetic English hearts bleed at the thought of the Russian despotism. The sympathetic English hearts were filled with delight when Turkey obtained a Parliament. Oh, yes, freedom for Russia, freedom for Turkey, but freedom for India or Egypt is unthinkable—or, in other words, freedom for every nation in which England has no interest."

The Indian Nationalists advance numerous reasons to justify their demand for self-government. The most important of these may be summarized as follows:

(1) Every nation has the right to rule itself. If the British people have the right to sing "Britons never will be slaves" and act on that principle, then the Indian people have a right to demand India for the Indians and strive for that end.

(2) Existing conditions in India under the British rule have resulted in the moral degradation of the people of India. The British government, to aid British commercialism, has introduced liquor and forced our people to cultivate opium. Liquor and opium have devitalized the Indian people. China has been undone by Indian opium. The Indian Nationalists claim that to remedy these wrongs they have to eradicate the root of the evil—the bad form of foreign government.

(3) Young India charges the British government with being the cause of the daily increasing poverty of the Indian people—poverty which in India is the chief root cause of famine and plague. Sir William Digby showed that in 1850 the people of India had an average income of four cents a day; in 1880 the average income had been reduced to three cents, and in 1900 it

had dwindled to one and one-half cents a day. When India is daily growing poorer and poorer under British rule, evidently British rule is not for the best interests of the native population, and it must be replaced by a government of the Indian people.

(4) The foreign rule in India is not in favor of the intellectual development of the people, and the British Indian government's record shows that only 9 per cent of the people of India can read and write in their own language after a British rule of over one hundred years. In contrast with this deplorable condition, the Indian Nationalists point to the intellectual advance of Japan, a free country during the last forty years, where over 90 per cent of the people can read and write; which again demonstrates the necessity of a free government for the three hundred millions of Indian people.

(5) The Russian government is regarded as the most despotic on earth, but the Indian Nationalists advance facts approved by authorities like Archibald R. Colquhoun, gold medallist, Royal Geographical Society; William Jennings Bryan, and others, to show that the British government in India is in several respects more despotic than the government of the Czar.

(6) The Indian Nationalists advance incontestable proof to substantiate their claim that the government of native Indian princes is incomparably superior to that of the British.

(7) They also hold that the British government is responsible in large part for the ruin of Indian industry.

(8) To the shame of their masters, they point to the testimony of so authoritative a man as Mr. Theodore Morrison, that "miscarriage of justice in India begets political evil. The people are irritated against the government because they believe that the laws are not evenly administered."

(9) The Indian people have been denied the right of citizenship in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other British colonies. They cannot even obtain the same privileges as are enjoyed by people of other free nations.

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To suppress this new movement for human liberty and rights, the British government has adopted all kinds of repressive measures in India, such, for example, as (1) the suppression of education, (2) depriving the natives of the enjoyment of freedom of speech, press and peaceful public assembly, and (3) enforcement of military rule and deportation of Indian Nationalist leaders without any kind of trial whatsoever.

We can safely claim that it is the settled policy of the British government to oppose the liberal education of the masses of the Indian people; so there is no public school system in the Empire. The Indian people are making attempts to increase the private schools, but the government has passed the University Act, which has made higher education more costly. Moreover, official steps have been taken to disaffiliate numbers of educational institutions from the Calcutta University, as will be seen from the following copy of a quotation from one of the official letters:

"I am directed by the Honorable the Vice Chancellor and the Syndicate to say that if this school desires continuance of recognition it must in the first place give guarantee that it will in future carefully abstain from mixing itself with political agitation. The Syndicate accordingly call on the Managing Committee to submit within a fortnight from receipt of this letter a declaration signed by all the members of the committee, as well as by all the members of the teaching staff, that they are prepared to manage the school in full and loyal compliance with the terms of the circular letter No. 332, dated the 4th of May, 1907, from Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, general department, and therefore will use their best endeavors to discourage the boys from joining in political agitation or demonstration of any kind."

The attempt to hamper the education of the people has been accom-

panied of late by assaults on the freedom of the press. Thus we see the four most influential papers, *The Bande-Mataram*, *The Sandhya*, *The Swaraj*, and *The Jugantor*, as well as others suppressed and their presses confiscated during the last six months. At least one hundred editors and printers of Indian papers, among the most important of whom were Mr. Bal Gangadha Tilak, editor of *Keshari*; Mr. Purshotam Bapuji Khare, editor of *Kal*; Professor Paranjappya, the former editor of *Kal*; the editors of *The Arunodhya*, *The Indian Home-Ruler*, *The Swaraj*, *The Punjabee*, and many others, have been prosecuted and imprisoned for expressing their candid views about the misrule of the British government in India.

Not satisfied with these drastic measures, the British government has recently passed the Sedition Bill. *The Indian Sociologist* of London observes that:

"The following section (4) of the Sedition Bill, which in official expression is styled The Summary Jurisdiction Act, deserves to be carefully studied and weighed by all who are in love with the British sense of justice:

"The accused shall not be present during an enquiry under Section 3 (1), unless the magistrate so directs, nor shall he be represented by a pleader during any such enquiry, nor shall any person have any right of access to the court of the magistrate while he is holding such an enquiry."

*The Morning Leader*, an English paper, exclaims, "Why, under such conditions, trouble to hold an enquiry at all?"

With reference to the Sedition Bill, "Depute" remarks with righteous indignation:

"I forward an account, in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, of the astounding ukase against justice, not against crime, which just issues from the British satrapy in India.

"Three crowned nominee judges! No jury!! No witnesses even!!! The police can invent an 'informer' against

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any innocent man, can hide the 'informer' on the day of 'trial,' alleging that he is 'absent' through the 'interest of the accused,' and the most innocent man in India can be sent to penal servitude or the gallows on that 'information'!!!

"We need not try to find a parallel under any Czar. There never was a Russian Czar quite so drunk and mad, as well as bad, as to issue such a ukase of criminal idiocy as this. Did the British satrapy in India really want to prove its hopeless badness?"

The denial of the right of freedom of speech and peaceful public assemblage is a common thing in India. The Chicago *Public* of February 5, 1909, says:

"The Indian National Congress, held at Madras during the latter part of December, which expressed sentiments of loyalty to the British government, is not regarded by all native Nationalists as a true congress. Another congress would have convened at Nagpur at about the same time, but it was suppressed by the British authorities, who prohibited any gathering in that city or district between December 15th, 1908, and January 15th, 1909."

During the last eighteen months, eleven Indian Nationalist leaders have been deported from India without any trial. The most important and the first victim of this measure was Lala Lajpat Rai, the most prominent philanthropist of the Punjab. Among the others, Mr. Aswani Kumar Dutt, M.A., and Mr. Krishna Kurnar Mitra, B.A., were the most influential. Mr. Dutt is the founder of a college, and he organized village courts of arbitration all over the district of Bakarganj. Mr. Mitra was the superintendent of the City College, Calcutta, and editor of a vernacular weekly paper until his arrest. Of the remainder, the most important one is Subodh Ch. Mullick, a Bengali millionaire, for the past few years a liberal donor to the Nationalist cause. When the National Council of Education was started, nearly three years ago, for the purpose of providing higher education independently of the

government colleges, he gave \$33,333 to the movement. He was the chief supporter of the *Bande-Mataram* newspaper. Mr. S. C. Chakervaty is a journalist who has been connected with several Nationalist newspapers. He was the editor of *The Sandhya*, a remarkable vernacular journal, written in colloquial Bengali and sold by thousands in the Calcutta streets at a farthing; and when Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal left *Bande-Mataram* he joined it as joint editor. Both these papers have been lately suppressed by new press laws. Pulin Das is a young advocate of Dacca and is secretary of the Anusilan Samiti.

These noble and patriotic leaders, as well as others, have been deported under a regulation of April 7, 1818. This regulation is an exhaustive one, so I shall quote a part from the preamble which will clearly express the motive of the British government:

"Whereas reasons of state, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hospitality and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient grounds to institute any judicial proceedings, or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for any other reason be inadvisable or improper, and herein referred to; the determination to be taken should proceed immediately from the authority of the Governor General in Council."

People in general, even men like Mr. Roosevelt, think that the British government in India is a blessing to the people of India, because it has guaranteed to the people the enjoyment of civil rights. But enforcement of laws which deny the right of judicial trial indicates that the people of India under the British rule enjoy less liberty than did the British people of the thirteenth

century. The Russian government gives some kind of trial to Russian revolutionists, but the British government fails to show even a mockery of

trial in the case of Indian patriots.

This is only a part of the tragic story of what is going on in India to-day.

## A MESSAGE TO YOUNG INDIA\*

By COUNT LEO TOLSTOI

"All that exists is One; people only call this One by different names."

—*Veddas*

"God is Love, and he that abideth in Love

### I.

"Do not seek rest in that plane where the earthly gives birth to thoughts and desires, for if thou dost, thou wilt be dragged through the rough wilderness of life, which is not of Me. Whenever thou feelest that thy feet are becoming entangled in the interlaced roots of life, know then that thou hast strayed from the path to which I beckon thee, for I have placed thee in broad, smooth paths, which are strewn with flowers.

"I have put a light before thee, which thou can't follow and thus run without stumbling."

—*Krishna*.

I RECEIVED your letter and the two issues of the magazine. Both were intensely interesting to me; indeed, the oppression of a majority is a phenomenon which has always occupied my mind and at present is entirely occupying my attention. I will endeavor to convey to you what I think, both in a particular and a general way, about these causes from which those dreadful calamities have arisen and do arise, of which you write in your letter and which are also mentioned in the two numbers of the Hindoo magazine you sent me.

The causes, owing to which this astonishing spectacle arises, of the majority of the laboring classes submitting to a mere handful of idlers whom it permits to dispose not only of its labor but also of its very life, are always and everywhere the same; whether the oppressors and the op-

pressed belong to the same or, as in the case in India and in other countries, where the dominant class belongs to an entirely different nation from those oppressed.

It appears especially strange of India, for here we have a people of two hundred millions of individuals highly endowed with spiritual and physical powers in absolute subjection to a small clique, composed of persons utterly alien in thought and aspiration and altogether inferior to those whom they enslave.

These causes, as one can easily see from your letter, from the articles in *Free Hindustan*, from the highly interesting writings of the Hindoo Swami Vivekananda and others, are in accord with that which causes the distress of all the peoples of our time; in the absence of a rational religious teaching, which, while uniformly elucidating for mankind the meaning of life, would also define the supreme law for the guidance of conduct, and in the substitution for the one and the other of the more than dubious propositions of a false religion and a false science, and in the immoral conclusions called civilization derived from both.

One has already seen, not only from your letter and from the articles in *Free Hindustan*, but also from the entire Hindoo political literature of our time,

\*This extremely interesting message, one of the last that in all human probability will come from the pen of the great prophet of peace of Russia, is printed now for the first time. It was written some months ago to Mr. Taraknath Das, editor of "Free Hindustan," in response to a letter from the editor asking for the Count's views in regard to the struggle that Young India is making for constitutional government. As will be seen,

Count Tolstoi takes the extreme position of non-resistance which he has consistently maintained since his renunciation of the life of a worldly, frivolous Russian noble. The second and concluding half of the Count's appeal will appear in our April issue, and it will be followed by Young India's reply, written by Mr. Das, in which the author presents the cause of Young India in an exceptionally strong paper.

The Editor.

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that the majority of the leaders of public opinion among the native races of India, while no longer ascribing any significance to those religious teachings which were professed, and are professed, by the Hindoo peoples, now find the sole possibility of deliverance from the oppression they endure, in embracing those anti-religious and subtly immoral forms of social order in which the English and other pseudo-Christian nations live to-day. Nothing shows more clearly the total absence of religious consciousness in the minds of the present-day leaders of Hindoo peoples, than does this tendency to instil into the hearts of the natives the acceptance of the forms of life in operation among European nations.

Meanwhile in the absence of this true religious consciousness and the guidance of conduct flowing from it, in the absence which is common in our times to all the nations of the East and the West, from Japan to England and America, lies the chief if not the sole cause of the enslavement of all the Indian peoples by the English.

### II.

"O ye, who see perplexities over your heads and beneath your feet, to the right and to the left; you will be an eternal enigma unto yourselves until you become humble and joyful as children. Then you will find Me, and having found Me in yourselves, you will rule over worlds, and looking out from the great world within to the little world without, you will bless everything that is, and find all is well with time and with you." —Krishna.

In order to make my thoughts clear I must go back a considerable time. We do not know, and cannot know (I boldly say, we need not) how mankind lived millions or even tens of thousands of years ago; but in all those times of which we have any reliable knowledge, we find that humanity has lived in separate tribes, clans, nations, in which the majority, submitting to the apparently inevitable, has permitted the coercive rule of one or several persons of the minority. We know this beyond a doubt. Notwithstanding the external diversity of events and persons, such an organization of human life has manifested itself in a similar

way in all the countries of whose previous history we know anything. And such an order of life, the further back you go, was always looked upon as the necessary basis for concordant social intercourse by both the rulers and the ruled.

Thus it was everywhere. But in spite of such an external order of life having existed for centuries and continuing even until now, a long time ago—thousands of years before our time, in the midst of different nations and often from out of the very center of this order of life resting on coercion, one and the same thought has been expressed,—that in every individual one spiritual source manifests itself, which is life itself, and that this spiritual source tends to unite with everything which is uniform with it, and attains this unification by love. This thought in its various forms has been expressed with more or less completeness and lucidity at different times and in various places. It has been expressed in Brahminism, Judaism, Mazdeism (the teaching of Zoroaster), Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, in the writings of the Greek and Roman sages, and in Christianity and Mohammedanism. Already the fact that one and the same thought has been expressed in the midst of the most diverse nations and at different times and places, indicates that this thought was inherent in human nature and contained the truth in itself.

But to those who considered that the only possible way of uniting people into societies was violence on the part of one set towards others, this truth appeared to be in opposition to the existing order, and, moreover, at the time of its first appearance, it was expressed in such a vague, fragmentary manner, that although the people embraced it as a theory, they were unable to accept it as an authoritative guidance for conduct. Besides, in regard to all the expressions of this truth as it was gradually proclaimed amongst people whose order of life was founded on violence, one and the same thing always occurred, viz., those who enjoyed

the benefits derived from power, finding that the recognition by the people of this truth undermined their position, consciously or unconsciously distorted this truth by every means in their power, attaching to it attributes and meanings totally foreign to it, and also opposing its dissemination by downright violence. Thus the truth which is so natural to humanity—that *human life should be guided by the spiritual principle which is the foundation of human life and manifests itself in love*, in order to enter man's consciousness had to struggle, not only with the incompleteness of its expression and the intentional and unintentional distortions of it, but also with deliberate violence which compels by means of punishments and persecutions the acceptance of the explanation of the religious law established by the authorities, which is opposed to this truth. Such a misrepresentation and construction of the new but as yet imperfectly explained truth, took place everywhere, in Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, and also in Brahminism.

### III.

"My hand has sowed love everywhere, giving unto all that will receive. Blessings are offered unto all my children, but many times in their blindness they fail to see them. How few there are who gather the gifts which lie in profusion at their feet; how many there are, who, in wilful waywardness, turn their eyes away from them and complain with a wail that they have not that which I have given them. Many of them defiantly repudiate not only my Gifts, but Me also, Me, the Source of all blessings and the Author of their Being."

—Krishna.

"I tarry awhile from the turmoil and strife of the world. I will beautify and quicken thy life with love and with joy, for the light of the soul is Love. Where love is there is contentment and peace, and where there is contentment and peace, there am I also in their midst."

—Krishna.

"The aim of the sinless One consists in acting without causing sorrow to others, although he could attain to great power by ignoring their feelings.

"The aim of the sinless One lies in not doing evil unto those who have done evil unto him.

"If a man causes suffering even to those who hate him without any reason, he will ultimately have grief not to be overcome.

"The punishment of evil-doers consists in making them feel ashamed of themselves by doing them a great kindness.

"Of what use is superior knowledge in the one if he does not endeavor to relieve his neighbor's wants as much as his own?

"If, in the morning a man wishes to do evil unto another, in the evening the evil will return to him."

—Hindoo Kural.

This has taken place everywhere. The fact that love is the highest moral feeling was accepted universally, but the truth itself was interwoven with many and varied falsehoods, which so distorted it that nothing but mere words remained, out of this recognition of love as the highest moral feeling. The theory was advanced that this highest moral feeling is applicable only to the individual life, that it was necessary only for home use; but in social life all forms of violence, prisons, executions, wars, involving acts diametrically opposed to the feeblest sensation of love, were regarded as indispensable for the protection of the majority against evil-doers. Notwithstanding that common sense clearly indicates that if one set of people can arrogate to themselves the right to decide as to which people are to be subjected to all kinds of coercion for the supposed welfare of the many, it naturally follows that those few individuals to whom violence is so applied could also come to the same conclusion with regard to the ruling caste who subjected them to violence; and although the great religious teachers—Brahmin, Buddhist and especially Christian—anticipating this perversion of the law of love, directed attention to the one inevitable condition of love—the enduring of affronts, injuries, all kinds of violence without resisting the evil by evil, mankind continued to accept what was incompatible: the beneficence of love, and with it the resistance of evil by violence, which is, and must be, opposed to love. And such teachings, in spite of the palpable contradiction which is in them, have taken such a deep hold upon the peo-

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ple, that while believing in love, people fail to question the lawfulness of an order of life founded on coercion; which includes the imposition not only of tortures, but also of death, by some persons upon others.

For a long time people lived in this obvious contradiction without noticing it. But the day came when this contradiction began to agitate the more thoughtful people of different nations. And the ancient simple truth that it was natural for people to help and to love, instead of torturing and killing each other, began to dawn upon the minds of men and became every day clearer, while the acceptance of those false interpretations by which the deviations from it were justified became less and less convincing.

In ancient times the chief justification of violence was the theory that so-called monarchs, tsars, sultans, rajahs, shahs, and other heads of states had peculiar and divine rights. But the longer people lived, the faith in special rights of monarchs sanctioned by God became weaker and weaker. This faith declined in equal degree and almost simultaneously in the Christian, in the Brahmin, in the Buddhist and in the Confucian spheres, and it has recently become so feeble that it can no longer serve, as it did before, as a justification of acts openly opposed to common sense and to the true religious

feeling. People saw more and more distinctly, and to-day the majority see quite clearly, the absurdity and the immorality of the submission of one's will to that of others than oneself, who require of them actions not only contrary to their material welfare but which also are a violation of their moral feelings. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that people who have lost faith in the ecclesiastically supported divinity of the authority of all manner of potentates, should endeavor to free themselves from it. But unfortunately, not only have these monarchs considered to be divinely appointed beings availed themselves of the advantages accruing from ruling nations, but during their domination, and owing to the existence of these pseudo-supernatural beings, an ever-increasing number of persons have sprung up who established themselves near the courts and who under the guise of governing the people, lived upon their labors. And this governing class has taken steps that to the same degree as the old religious fraud about divine rule of monarchs instituted by God himself decays in influence, another and similar deception should take its place, and, having superseded the old one, should continue in the same way as the old one to keep nations in slavery to a limited number of rulers.

*This first instalment of Count Tolstoy's "Message to Young India" appeared in the March, 1910 issue of the "Twentieth Century Magazine."*

# TWENTIETH CENTURY MAGAZINE

VOL. II.

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NUMBER 7

## A MESSAGE TO YOUNG INDIA

By Count Leo Tolstoi

Part II.

### I.

"Children, do you want to know by what your hearts should be guided? Throw aside your longings and strivings after that which is null and void; get rid of your erroneous thoughts about happiness and wisdom, and your empty and insincere desires. Dispense with these and you will know Love."

—Krishna.

"Be not the destroyers of yourselves. Arise to your true Being, and then you will have nothing to fear."

—Krishna.

**N**EW religious vindications have replaced the obsolete, the outlived ones. These are as groundless as those superseded but they are still new; hence their inconsistency cannot at once be quite clear to the majority, and besides, the people who make use of power propagate them and support them in such a skillful manner, that these justifications appear to many quite as incontrovertible, even to those who suffer from what they justify. These new vindications are termed scientific.

"Science" is a word which, for the majority, has the same power as the word "religion." All that was called religion, for the simple reason that it was named religion, was always undoubtedly true, exactly in the same way that all that is now called science, for the simple reason that it is named science, is always undoubtedly true. Thus, in this case the outlived relig-

ious justification of violence, which consisted in the recognition of the peculiarity of divinity of personages being in power and put in power by God ("There is no power but from God") was replaced by the justification consisting, in the first place, of the fact, that as amongst people the coercion of some by others has always been, it is proved that such violence must continue indefinitely. In this, i. e., that mankind should not live according to reason and conscience, but in obedience to that which has for a long time been taking place amongst them—in this is embodied what "science" terms the "historical law." The second "scientific" justification is, that as amongst plants and animals a struggle for existence goes on which always culminates in the survival of the fittest, the same struggle should go on amongst men, notwithstanding that men are beings endowed with the attributes of reason and love, faculties which are absent from beings submitted to the law of struggle and selection. In this consists the second "scientific" justification of violence.

The third scientific justification of violence, the most prominent, and unfortunately the most widespread, is, in reality, the oldest religious justification, only a little altered. This is the theory that the use of violence in social life

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against some, for the welfare of others, is inevitable, and however desirable love amongst people might be, coercion is indispensable. The difference between the justification of violence by pseudo science and that by pseudo religion is in the fact that to the question as to why such and such people, and not others, have the right to decide as to whom violence may and must be used against, science does not give the same reply as that which religion has formulated: that these decisions are just because they are pronounced by personages who possess a divine power, but that these decisions represent the will of the majority, which, under a constitutional form of government is supposed to express itself in all the decisions and actions of the party that at any given time is in power.

Such are the scientific vindications of coercion. These vindications, although quite groundless, are so necessary to people occupying privileged positions that they as implicitly believe in them, and as confidently propagate them, as they formerly did the doctrine of the immaculate conception.

Meanwhile the unhappy majority, weighed down by toil, is so dazzled by the display which accompanies the propagation of these "scientific truths" that under this new influence it accepts them as readily as it formerly accepted the pseudo religious justifications, and continues to submit slavishly to new potentates who are just as cruel as the former, but who have somewhat increased in number.

### II.

"Who am I? I am that which thou hast searched for since thy baby eyes gazed wond'ringly upon the world, whose horizon but hides this real life from thee. I am that which in thy heart thou hast prayed for, demanded as thy birthright, although thou hast not known what it was. I am that which hast lain in thy soul for hundreds and thousands of years. Sometimes I lay in thee grieving, because thou didst not recognize me; sometimes I raised my head, opened my eyes, and extended my arms, calling thee tenderly and quietly, or strenuously demanding that thou shouldst rebel against the hard iron earth chains which held thee bound to clay."

—Krishna.

Thus it has been in the past and still

continues, in the Christian world. One could hope that in the vast Brahmin, Buddhist, Confucian worlds this new scientific superstition would not have place, and that the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindoos, having seen the falsity of religious impositions which justify violence, would proceed direct to the conception of the law of love inherent in humanity, which has been so clearly enunciated by the great teachers of the East. But it appears that the scientific superstition which replaced the religious one is getting a firmer and firmer grip upon the Oriental nations. It has now a specially strong hand on the land of the extreme East, Japan, not only upon its leaders but upon the majority of its people, and is the precursor of the greatest calamities. It has taken hold of China with her four hundred millions of inhabitants, and also of your India with her two hundred millions, or at least the bulk of the people who look upon themselves, as you do, as the leaders of these peoples.

In your magazine\* you insert as the basic principle which should direct the activity of your people the following thought as an epigraph: "*Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative; non-resistance hurts both Altruism and Egoism.*"

You say that the English have enslaved and keep the Hindoos in subjection because the latter have not resisted sufficiently, and do not resist the violence by force.

But it is just the contrary. If the English have enslaved the Hindoos, it is just because the Hindoos recognized and do recognize coercion as the main and fundamental principle of their social order. In the name of this principle they submitted to their little Rajahs, in their name they struggled with each other, fought with Europeans, with the English, and at present are preparing to struggle with them again.

A commercial company enslaved a nation comprising two hundred millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these

\*Free Hindustan.

## Twentieth Century Magazine

words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand people, not athletes, but rather weak and ill-looking, have enslaved two hundred millions of vigorous, clever, strong, freedom-loving people? Do not the figures make it clear that not the English, but the Hindoos, have enslaved themselves?

For the Hindoos to complain that the English have enslaved them, is equal to people who are addicted to drink complaining that vendors of wine who have settled in their midst have enslaved them. You tell them that they can abstain from drinking, but they answer that they are so accustomed to it that they cannot abstain, that they find it necessary to keep up their energy by wine. Is not that the case with all the people who submit to thousands and hundreds of individuals, either of their own nation or of foreign nations?

If the Hindoos have been enslaved by violence it is because they themselves have lived by violence, live by violence, and do not recognize the eternal law of love, inherent in humanity.

"Pitiful and ignorant is the man who seeks what he has already got, but is unaware that he has it. Yes, pitiful and ignorant is the man who does not know the bliss of that love which surrounds him, which I gave him."\*

If a man lives only in accord with the law of love, which includes non-resistance, which has been already revealed to him and is natural to his heart, and hence does not participate in any form of violence, not only hundreds will not enslave millions but even millions will be unable to enslave one individual. Do not resist evil, but also yourselves participate not in evil, in the violent deeds of the administration, of the law courts, the collection of taxes, and what is more important, of the soldiers, and no one in the world will enslave you.

Love is the only means of saving people from all disasters which they may undergo. In your case the only means of liberating your people from slavery lies in love. Love as the religious foundation of human life was proclaimed

with striking force and lucidity in the midst of your people in remote antiquity. Love, without non-resistance, is a contradiction in itself. And there, in the twentieth century, you, a member of one of the most religious of peoples, with a light heart and with confidence in your scientific enlightenment and hence in your undoubted righteousness—you deny this law, repeating—pardon me—that colossal error which they, the defenders of violence, the enemies of the truth, at first the servants of theology, then of science, your European teachers, have instilled into you.

### III.

"O, ye who sit in bondage, and continually seek and pant for freedom, seek only for Love. Love is peace in itself and peace which gives complete satisfaction. I am the key that opens the portal to the rarely discovered land where contentment alone is found."

—Krishna.

To the humanity our times, Eastern and Western, the same thing happens which takes place in regard to every individual when he is passing from one age to the other (a child becoming a youth, a youth a man) and loses that which has been hitherto his guide in life, and not having elucidated a new one appropriate to his age, lives without any guidance and invents various anxieties, cares, amusements, provocations, intoxications to distract his attention from the misery and selfishness of his own life. Such a condition may last a long time.

But as during the transition of an individual from one age to another, the time must inevitably come when life can no longer continue in the old ruts as before, in senseless anxiety and irritation, and the man must understand that the previous guidance for life is no longer applicable to him, it does not follow that he must necessarily live without any rational guidance whatever, but that he should formulate for himself a theory of life corresponding to his age, and having elucidated it he should be guided by it in this, his new age.

Similar crises must of necessity occur in the ever-changing life of humanity. And I am of opinion, that the time has

\*Krishna.

## Message to Young India

arrived for such a transition of humanity from one age to another, and not in the sense that it has arrived now, viz., 1908, but that the inherent contradiction of human life, the consciousness of the beneficence of the law of love, and the system of life built upon the law of violence opposed to love, in our time has reached the degree of intensity under which it can no longer go on, and must be met by a solution, and evidently not with a solution which favors the outlived law of violence, but in favor of the truth that the law of human life is the law of love, cherished by all humanity from the most remote antiquity.

The recognition of this truth in all its full significance is possible for men only when they free themselves completely from all religious as well as scientific superstitions by means of which it has been for centuries hidden from mankind.

In order to save a sinking ship it is necessary to throw overboard the ballast, which, though it might have been indispensable at one time, would now cause destruction. It is exactly the same with religious and scientific superstitions which hide this salutary truth from men. In order that people could embrace the truth, not in such a vague way as it presented itself to them during their childhood, nor in such a one-sided, unstable way as it was interpreted to them by religious and scientific teachers, but in such a manner that it should become the highest law of human life. To effect this, the complete liberation of this truth from all, *all* those superstitions, pseudo religious as well as pseudo scientific, which now obscure it, is necessary; not a partial, timid liberation, such a one as in the religious sphere was effected by Guru-Nanaka, the founder of the religion of the Sakas, and in Christianity by Luther, or similar reformers in other religions, but a complete deliverance of the religious truth from all those ancient religions, as well as from the modern scientific superstitions.

If people only freed themselves from beliefs in all kinds of Ormuzds, Brah-

mas, Sabbathoths, their incarnation in Krishnas and Christs, from beliefs in a paradise and hell, in angels and demons, from reincarnations, resurrections, from the idea of the interference of God in the life of the universe; freed themselves chiefly from the recognition of the infallibility of the various Vedas, Bibles, Gospels, Triptakas, Korans, etc.; if people only freed themselves from blindly believing in all sorts of scientific doctrines about infinitesimally small atoms, molecules, about all kinds of infinitely great and infinitely remote worlds, about their movements and their origin, about forces; from the implicit faith in all manner of theoretical laws to which man is supposed to be subjected, the historic and economic laws, the laws of struggle and survival, etc.,—if people only freed themselves from this terrible accumulation of the idle exercises of our lower capacities of mind and memory, which are called the Sciences, from all the innumerable divisions of all sorts of histories, anthropologies, homiletics, bacteriologies, jurisprudences, cosmographies, strategies—and their name is legion; if people only relieve themselves of this ruinous intoxicating ballast, that simple, explicit law of love accessible to all, which is so natural to mankind, solving all questions and perplexities, will of its own accord become clear and obligatory.

### IV.

“Children, look at the flowers at your feet; do not trample upon them. Look at the love in your midst and do not repudiate it.”

—Krishna.

“There is a higher reason which transcends all human minds. It is far and near. It permeates all the worlds and at the same time is infinitely higher than they.”

“A man who sees that all things are contained in the higher spirit, cannot treat any being with contempt.”

“For him to whom all spiritual beings are equal to the highest, there can be no room for deception or grief.”

“Those who are ignorant and are devoted to the religious rites only, are in deep gloom, but those who are given up to fruitless meditations are in a still greater darkness.”

—Upanishads.

Yes, in our time, men—to escape from self-inflicted calamities which have reached the highest degree of intensity; whether it be a Hindoo seeking liberation from the subjection of the English, or any other man in his struggle with those using violence; whether in the negro's fights with the North American or the Persian's, Russian's or the Turk's fight with his government, as well as any man who seeks the greatest amount of welfare for himself as for everybody—do not require new explanations and justifications of old religious superstitions, as Vivekanandas, Baba Bharatis and others have formulated in your country, and in the Christian world; an infinite number of such new interpreters and expounders of what no one stands in need; nor the innumerable sciences about matters which not only are unnecessary but mostly harmful. In the spiritual realm there is nothing indifferent, but what is not useful is always harmful.

The Hindoo, as well as the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, the Russian, do not require constitutions, revolutions, any conferences, congresses, any new ingenious devices for submarine navigation, aerial navigation, powerful explosives, or all kinds of conven-

iences for the enjoyment of the rich ruling classes; not new schools, universities with instruction in innumerable sciences; not the augmentation of papers and books, the gramophones and cinematographs, nor those childish and mostly corrupt stupidities which are called art; but one thing only is needed: the knowledge of the simple lucid truth that the law of human life is the law of love, which gives the highest happiness to every individual as well as to all mankind. If people only free themselves in their consciousness from those mountains of nonsense which hide the truth from them, then that indubitable eternal truth inherent in mankind, which is one and the same in all the great religions of the world, will disclose itself to the soul of every human being. And as soon as this is recognized by the great majority, all those evils from which humanity now suffers will disappear.

"Children, look upwards with your beclouded eyes, and a world full of joy and love will disclose itself to you, a rational world made by my wisdom, the only real world. Then you will know what love has done with you, what love has bestowed upon you, and what love demands from you."\*

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\*Krishna.

# TWENTIETH CENTURY MAGAZINE

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## YOUNG INDIA'S REPLY TO COUNT TOLSTOI

By Taraknath Das

Part I.

YOUR open letter to us in reply to our private correspondence is unique and ideal in the way you have discussed the question of non-resistance and love. The world expects to hear a message of the like nature from a soul like yours, you who have experienced the sweetness and blessings of universal fellowship and unity of souls. An individual who really realizes but not theorizes that "All that exists is One; people only call this One by different names"—to him there is no need of constitutions, revolutions, conferences, congresses; to him, arts and sciences are stupidity; anything material is repulsive. The stage of which you speak is the stage of being above all material qualities—what the Hindu philosophers call "Gunatita."

According to the teachings of the prophet Krishna in the *Bagavat Gita*, the epitome of Hindoo philosophy, and according to our common sense, we see there are four stages of existence in individuals, societies and states. They are (1) dullness, (2) activity, (3) serenity, (+) "The stage of Gunatita." As we

cannot expect William's coat to fit Evelyn, so we cannot expect the dogma relative to dullness to be fully applicable to activity, serenity and so on. The diet of a young man is quite different from that of an old man; so your ideas are different from ours. Your sphere is to live above the material plane and renounce it altogether, whereas ours is to perform the duties as long as we live in the material plane. To you, there is no duty, but *we* have duties. We are not worshippers of violence. Our mottoes, "Resistance to tyranny is service to humanity and a necessity to civilization," and "Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable, but imperative; non-resistance hurts both Altruism and Egoism," are not inconsistent with the law of progress and service to humanity—theories in which you possibly do not believe. We advocate resistance. Resistance is an active effort to overcome obstacles. We would again like to say that our idea is progress and comfort to humanity at large. We never advocate, as you have supposed, that vio-

## Young India's Reply to Count Tolstoi

lence is the only possible way of uniting peoples into societies.

Our motto is not an absolute doctrine, but it is dependent upon the condition of society and state. If there is no trace of aggression and tyranny, there is no expression of our dogma. But, as long as good and evil exist, as long as the rights of the weak are usurped by the strong, and as long as there remains the diversity of nature among human beings, our principle stands true, and it will remain operative as the active expression and effort of love to humanity until the millennium comes.

Non-resistance is an absolute dogma. We deny the existence of absolute non-resistance. In fact, in the last analysis, non-resistance does not exist. From our standpoint, our mere existence is a struggle. And, sir, we see that you are a strong pillar to support our doctrine by your actions. You, as a lover of humanity and preacher of the blessed idea of universal fellowship, in which nearly all Hindoo political leaders—at least we—believe, have always raised your powerful voice against the oppression of the majority by the minority of a people. You, by your utterances and writings have strongly resisted the idea of special privilege which is tyranny and have preached the sacredness of equal rights. You have upheld the rights and dignity of human life; you are resisting the evil force and brute nature by your moral force, you are facing right and moving towards right, and thus resisting wrong in a beneficial sense. Your actions are all violence to the people against whose interests they are arrayed. Violence and benevolence are measured by the relative value of the actions and the motives underlying them.

The idea of absolute non-resistance is not always love, but often bespeaks dullness, weakness, leading to fatalism; and to establish this fact, I will give a concrete example as it is experienced in India.

A Hindoo gentleman with his wife was traveling in a train. They were alone in the compartment until two "Tommy Atkins" entered, as they frequently do. One of them reached the lady and

showed activity to ignore the purity of womanhood, while the other stood at the door to stop the entrance of anyone from outside who might resist their vile actions. All means of escape were cut off. Sir, would you in this case ask the husband of that lady to use love, which you think must be consistent with non-resistance towards the brute, or would you ask him, for the sake of love towards his comrade and love of morality to use his manly force to resist the brutal action? Would you, sir, ask the lady not to resist the infamous deed? No, we believe that you would ask the parties subjected to such treatment to resist it to the last. Our position is just the same. We are believers in universal fellowship, but we are intolerant of any action of exploitation of any nation, race, society, family or individual by others. We advocate resistance—it may be moral or physical, active or passive, it may be direct or indirect—never to uphold the base instincts and deliberate actions of robbery of one nation by another as it is done in India to-day by the British Government, but to denounce it, and if possible, to abolish it; and we are glad to see, sir, that you have advised us to adopt passive resistance. You have advised our countrymen not to participate in the violent deeds of administration, of law courts, of collecting taxes and aiding the military rule of the British Government in India by enlisting as soldiers. We appeal to our countrymen to follow your sound advice, as we think passive resistance is often more effective than active opposition. We will ask our countrymen to adopt measures of active opposition only when they see that passive resistance leads to imprisonment and deportation without any kind of trial, as it does to-day in India. We advocate that when passive resistance becomes futile, we ought to adopt active resistance to stop aggression and tyranny.

We want to establish a kingdom of love; but how can we do it under the existing circumstances? Sir, you will accept the axiomatic truth, "two things cannot occupy the same space at the same time," and it is equally true psy-

chologically with all ideas and incidents. In order to establish an order superior to the existing state of affairs it is first necessary to break down the undesirable system. And we advocate that we have to resist evil in order to uplift righteousness.

We, the Indian Nationalists, believe, and we think that you, sir, do not disagree with us, that the British Government in India is nothing but a commercial agency bartering the life-blood of millions of Indian people for mere pounds, shillings and pence. We do not care to go into the minute details of the matter, but will quote a passage from the issue of *Justice* for Feb. 27, 1909, to substantiate our statement:

"British rule in India is one long record of wrong and robbery. The people are being bled to death and made easy victims for the plague by our systematic extortion. Indians are deprived of all control over their own country. Free speech, free press, free trial, freedom of every sort is being relentlessly suppressed. Wholly innocent men are being transported and kept in prison without the chance of saying a word in their own defense, under enactments worthy of a Sergius or a Plehve. Young university students, guilty only of political offenses of the mildest character, have been publicly flogged by Liberal orders till the blood ran down their backs. Torture in British prisons, both before and after trial, has been quite common, and is admitted to have been so by British officials, and as a manifest deduction from all these facts, such a government as this of ours in India is wholly infamous, and a curse alike to the people of India, the people of England and humanity at large."

To substantiate the above remarks, we produce some authoritative views on the moral, educational, sanitary, economic and civil condition of India under the British Rule. In a paper entitled "Success of the British Government in India From the Moral Point of View," *The Harp* of New York, for May, 1909, cites the following from an exchange, which is of special value as containing the

official orders that reveal the shame of England's army:

"The British army in India recruits women for the purpose of harlotry with an almost brutal disregard for even the God of Appearance. On June 17, 1886, Sir F. (now Lord) Roberts, issued his 'circular memorandum' addressed to general officers commanding divisions and districts. In it he says:

"In the regimental bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women; to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, and to provide them proper houses."

"In furtherance of these instructions, the officer commanding the Connaught Rangers at Jullender, wrote to the assistant quartermaster as follows:

"The cantonment magistrate has already on more than one occasion been requested to obtain a number of younger and more attractive women, but with little or no success. He will again be appealed to. The Major-General commanding should invoke the aid of the local government by instructing the cantonment magistrates, whom they appoint, that they give all possible aid to commanding officers in procuring a sufficient number of young, attractive, and healthy women."

It will be observed that her magistrates are acting as procurers at the instigation of army officers.

When the British were introducing the opium trade into India, they sent commissioners into the territory they thought suited for the cultivation of the poppy, and summoning all the *ryots* (peasant farmers) before them, these commissioners compelled each to set aside as much of his land as the commissioners wanted for the culture of this accursed drug.

When the natives would not buy or use the opium, the government spent a vast sum of money in giving it away free in order to cultivate among them a liking for it. The drug has ruined millions, body and soul, but it has brought a great revenue to the British Government.

The effect of this opium cultivation

is demoralizing and disintegrating. "It depopulated the country and degenerated the people. From having once been a fine, manly race, the Assamees (natives of a province of the Hindustan) have become absolutely the most abject and worthless in all India. The growth of population among them was checked by it; the men became prematurely old; the women bore fewer children and the children rarely lived to become old men."

Truth can never be too strong. The British merchants and British government are the causes of the introduction of opium and liquor in Hindustan. Some years ago the distribution of free liquor was a common thing. Even today, the British government distributes liquor regularly in the native army, and the effect is to disintegrate our finest specimens of manhood. Opium is also secretly distributed among the people, and the Government has adopted the same plan as the British merchants did in China and Formosa. How opium was introduced into Formosa is thus set forth in Japanese Government records:—

"Opium was first imported into the island (Formosa) about thirty years ago and it was in the raw state. It was imported through Hong Kong by the English merchants who told the natives that their sickness would be cured if they took it as medicine. The natives were very glad to hear this and procured the same gratis from the merchants and for

a short time seemed to be cured. This is how they became accustomed to smoking, and according to the English merchants, they thought it excellent medicine and from that time on consumed large quantities of it. It was several years afterward that they found it to be poisonous."

A careful writer in *Free Hindustan* for August, 1908, says:—

"We have seen in Vancouver, B. C., at least two hundred Sikhs, who use opium even with tea, and they testify that they were told first that opium was good medicine for head-ache, gout, trouble with stomach, and thus they began to use it and now they are slaves to the poison." This official drugging in India is daily increasing and we produce a British parliamentary report about it:

"In reply to a question in the English House of Commons on April 27, asking for the total net revenues from excisable liquors and drugs in India for a series of years, the following statement was made by Mr. Hobhouse on behalf of the Under Secretary for India, Mr. Buchanan: The figures of net revenue, stated in sterling at the rate of 15 rupees to the pound, are as follows: 1874-5, £1,561,000; 1883-4, £2,538,000; 1894-5, £3,620,000; 1904-5, £5,295,000; 1905-6, £5,621,000; 1907-8, £5,163,000; 1908-9, £7,342,000; 1909-10, £6,717,000. For the last two years the figures are estimates."

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## YOUNG INDIA'S REPLY TO COUNT TOLSTOI

By Taraknath Das

### Part II.

**E**DUCATION is the bread of the soul. A misconception for want of accurate information about the British educational policy toward Hindustan, is very widely spread among people of civilized countries. The British Government and press trumpet all along that the British occupancy of India has been a great benefit to our people, and cite the spread of education. We do not wish to pass any opinion, but we are quoting solid facts and challenge contradiction of them.

"When in 1792, Wilberford proposed to add two clauses to the Charter of the year, for sending out schoolmasters to India, the directors of the company strongly objected to the proposal. On that occasion one of the directors stated that they had just lost America through their folly of having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India: if the natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it."\*

"This policy still exists at the bottom

of the educational system established by the British Government in Modern India. Although this policy, or rather fear, has apparently been modified and schools colleges and universities have been founded, still the Government of India does not feel safe in giving the natives substantial higher education of the same nature as can be obtained in England, Europe and America."\*\*

To clear this last remark, we would like to say, that even to-day if we desire the higher education, we must go to England or some other western country. This is not all: We must also go to England to qualify ourselves as Indian Civil Servants, because the Indian Civil Service examinations are held *only* in England, so that poor countrymen of ours ours may not get any opportunity of governing our own country. How noble it is!

Rev. J. T. Sunderland, after a long residence in India, says:

"Much credit has been given to the Indian Government for education. It has done some good work in this direction, for which let it have full praise;

\*J. C. Marshman's Evidence, Lord's Second Report, 1853.

\*\**India and Her People*, by Swami Abhe-dananda. Pp. 190-191.

but how little it has done when compared with the need, or compared with what the people want, or with its ability if it would only use its resources primarily for India's good! Why has so little of the people's money been spent for education? The munificent sum of one penny and a fifth, i. e., two cents per head of the population! Think of it. Is it any wonder that after a century and a half of British dominance the number of persons in India who can read and write is only about eleven out of a hundred among males, and one in two hundred among females? With their native industries badly broken down the Indian people have special need of industrial, technical and practical education, but the rulers are giving them almost nothing of this kind. Britain's neglect of education is a dark stain upon her treatment of India."\*

Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., spoke at Arbroath in Scotland in April, 1908, in the following way: "Take for instance, education in India: How much were they spending for education? One penny, i. e. two cents per annum. How much for military? One shilling per annum. One meal in two days was a common experience for hundreds in the Indian Empire, yet there was no public school system and children were charged for being taught."

The average income of our people according to different authorities, is \$10 per annum at the *very highest*, and down to \$6. The Government High School tuition fee is \$1.75 per month. Now you can easily realize whether the people will fail to educate their children or starve.

We would like to compare the Russian educational policy with the British, which might be interesting. *The Times* for April 17, 1908, contained the following: "The Duma has passed the first reading of a bill introduced by the minister of education, providing for the grant of 6,900,000 roubles annually for

the introduction of universal elementary education."

The Russian Government has granted a large sum of money for educational purposes; but according to the Budget debate and financial statement of the Viceroy's council for the years 1908-9, we do not find the grant of a single cent for adopting the system of free and universal elementary education; but we see the Government enormously extravagant for military affairs by sanctioning 20.75 million sterling, out of 59.19 million sterling, the total revenue of the country.

The British Government in Hindustan is not only inferior to the Russian Government, but also to native states in India (which the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy regards as extremely autocratic). The Gaekwar of Baroda has made elementary education free and compulsory in his state, while the British Government of India under the régime of Lord Curzon passed University Acts which abolished the autonomy of the universities and higher education. To stop private educational enterprise or national life, the British Government is persecuting teachers and students of private schools and colleges even for singing our national song "Bande Mataram" (Hail, Mother-land).

It is known to all that since 1901, India has been annually ravaged by bubonic and pneumonic plague and these fearful diseases have become as common as malarial fever, smallpox or cholera there. The highest medical authorities of the world have pronounced that the plague in India is caused by want of proper sanitation and want of sufficient food among the people. If want of proper sanitation is one of the undeniable causes of plague, we would like to place before our intelligent readers the government statistics concerning sanitation in India, as revealed by Hon. Mr. Gokhale, C. I. E., in his budget speech in March, 1908.

"These figures show the amount contributed by the several provincial revenues as grants-in-aid to the municipalities towards the capital outlay on drainage and water-works during the last five years, i. e., from 1902-3 to 1906-7.

\*Paper on *The Causes of Famines in India*, before the Canadian Institute, by Rev. J. T. Sunderland. Page 21.

## Young India to Count Tolstoi

Total amount in dollars in five years:

Madras (exclusive of 3 lakhs given to the city of Madras)	\$215,666 00
Bombay	35,133 00
United Provinces	189,445 00
Punjab	75,000 00
Burma	nil
Eastern Bengal and Assam	4,666 00
Central Provinces	13,666 00
N. W. Provinces	nil
Total for all Provinces in five years	\$533,576 00

"This gives an annual average of a little over \$100,000 for the whole country (where the population is about three hundred millions). It may be noted that during these same five years, while the government contributed a mere pittance of a little over five hundred thousand dollars towards the sanitation of our own towns, which were being decimated by annual visitations of the plague, His Excellency, the Commander in Chief, was able to obtain for Military charges a sum of about \$90,000,000 above the level of the military expenditure.

"In 1901-2, nearly 60 crores, i. e., \$200,000,000 were spent as capital outlay on railways, of which one-third, i. e., \$66,666,666 was found out of current revenues. My Lord, this treatment of sanitation as though the government has no responsibility in regard to it, has hitherto been one of the most melancholy features of the present scheme of financial decentralization, under which sanitation has been made over to the Local Bodies as their concern, *though they have admittedly no resources for undertaking large projects of improvement.* The analogy of England is often quoted to justify this arrangement, but on the same analogy, railway construction should have been left to private enterprise, but it is not."

The above report proves that the British Government in India spent annually an average of a little more than \$100,000 of the revenue collected from the people for the sanitation of a population of about three hundred millions. Is this the best efficiency of the British ideal of sanitation? Is this the best sign of skill and devotion to improve the sanitary condition of the people of India?

The civilized world generally thinks that the British Government is doing a splendid work of irrigation in India to improve Indian agriculture and the sanitary condition of the country; but it is really a myth when we get into the motive and details of the action. We quote a part of the speech of Rai Bahadur Satanath Roy, one of the merchant princes of Bengal, delivered before the last annual meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta:

"There is no country in the world which is blessed with such a magnificent river system as Bengal (including, of course, Eastern Bengal). These rivers served most useful purposes. They were not only useful from a sanitary point of view, but also from an economic point of view; they not only supplied good drinking water to the people, but served as arteries through which flowed the commerce of the country. But for some time these rivers, channels and creeks have been silting up and most of them have dried up, *with the result that many once flourishing towns and villages have been devastated by cholera and malarial fever.*"

He further observes, and very rightly: "Everywhere both in Europe and America, rivers are being kept open and navigable by means of powerful dredgers, but except in the case of the river Hooghly near Calcutta, no really useful and powerful dredger has ever been utilized in removing the silt deposits and for keeping up the natural flow of water through the numerous rivers in Bengal. While several countries in Europe and America have been spending millions for the improvement of their respective rivers, our Government, while so lavish in all other things, including railways, has been very slow in spending money on the improvement of the waterways of the country."

This is not all. I am a Hindu and I wandered for over two years in different parts of India to study the real condition of the people, and what I have experienced is unimaginable by the American people. Except in a few big cities, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Alahabad

and some others, it is very hard for the people to get pure drinking water. There is no water supply system in the Indian towns and villages. In villages, where ninety per cent of the people live, there are tanks, or reservoirs, dug by the people, and in most cases the water in those tanks, where the washer-man washes dirty clothes, the dish-washer cleans the dishes and people in general take their baths, is used for cooking and drinking purposes. The British Government does not help materially to remedy these evils. It is regarded as a case of rare fortune if the villagers get any help from the government to dig a well when the reservoir is dried up. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Russell, the eminent sociologist and author of *The Uprising of the Many*, who observed that millions of people in India live in huts and hovels whose sanitary condition is worse than that provided for cattle in this country.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, after visiting India, remarked wisely: "So great has been the drain, the injustice to the people and the tax upon the resources of the country, that famines have increased in frequency and severity. Mr. Gokhale, one of the ablest of India's public men, presiding over the meeting of the last Indian National Congress held in December, declared in his opening speech that the death rate had steadily risen from 24 in the thousand in 1882-1884 to 30 in 1892-1894, and to 34 at the present time.

"I have more than once, within the last month, heard the plague referred to as a providential remedy for over-population. Think of it! British rule justified because 'it keeps the people from killing each other,' and the plague praised because it removes those whom the Government has saved from slaughter!"

Here we want to emphasize the fact that in England the death rate is decreasing, and the statistics read thus:

"England has become successful in bringing down her death rate from 20 to 15.5 per thousand during the last twenty years."

Some people make the indiscreet remark that the people of India have no idea of sanitation, and that they never lived in a sanitary way; but such is not the case. Students of ancient history testify that when the Anglo-Saxons were living in caves, then India had her days of prosperity. Medical science, astronomy, ethics and philosophy flourished there. Megasthenes, an early Greek historian and contemporary of Alexander the Great, has fortunately left a very valuable testimony to this early Indian civilization.

Under the existing economic conditions, the people of India cannot undertake independently any work of sanitation, because they are poor—they are taxed to death. There are districts where the people are forced to pay a land tax of 65 per cent of the products. The average income of the people is now one and one-half cents a day, while it was four cents some fifty years ago.

All nations condemn the Spanish exploitation of South America, as they also condemn her treatment of Cuba. Under Spanish rule, Cuba was in a state of horror, but under the progressive and benevolent influence of the United States, the conditions are changed; there shines forth the success of the American democracy which raised Cuba, a country of enslaved people, a resort unfit for human habitation, to a land of free people, blessed with all the latest sanitary developments.

The United States saved the Cubans from the yawning jaws of yellow fever, while the British Government has become the cause of plague, malaria and famine in India. Then shall we call the British Government in India a colossal success?

# TWENTIETH CENTURY MAGAZINE

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## YOUNG INDIA'S REPLY TO COUNT TOLSTOI

By Taraknath Das

### PART III

THE economic condition of the people is the sure test of the success or failure of a government.

India, under British rule, is suffering from the worst kind of economic evil that any country has ever faced on earth. India is the poorest country, with vast resources, in the world.

Here is the table of average income of the people of the principal nations per capita per annum: United States, \$220.00; British Isles, \$180.00; France, \$156.00; Germany, \$124.00; Austria, \$84.00; Italy, \$80.00; Holland, \$110.00 (1900); Belgium, \$14.00 (1900); Norway, \$100.00; Spain, \$80.00 (1900); Russia, \$55.00 (1900); British India, \$5.00 (1900).

Sir William Digby in his exhaustive work, *The Prosperous British India*, has proved from the parliamentary documents of the British Government that the average annual income of the people in British India is \$5.00 per annum. Lord Cromer some twenty years ago estimated that the average income of our people in Hindustan was \$9.00 per



Taraknath Das as  
Editor of "The Free  
Hindusthan," Seattle,  
Washington, 1910.

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year per capita, not deducting taxation. If we take Lord Cromer's estimate as correct, it proves that the people of Hindustan are daily getting poorer and poorer under the British rule. It has been very clearly shown in *Prosperous British India* (1901) that in 1850 we had an average income of 2d. (4 cents) a day. In 1880 it lowered to 1½d. (3 cents), and in 1900 it had been reduced to less than ¾d. (1½ cents).

This poverty of India is caused by the British plunder and legalized pillage and destruction of Indian industries. Poverty has become the source of chronic famines in India. There people are dying like flies, and the famines are caused by the British commercialism and exploitation. Try to realize that over thirty millions of people died for want of food, starved to death, while the British merchants were daily carrying away ship-loads of food from the people who worked hard to provide it. Humanity is suffering from the effects of slow poison. The civilized world abhors war, but compare the mortality of famines in India for ten years, from 1891 to 1900, with that of all the wars in the world from 1793 to 1900! The figures are nineteen millions and five millions respectively. The famines in India, I repeat, are the result of British exploitation, and are not, as may be supposed, caused by lack of rain or lack of production, or by over-population.

It is an economic famine of an enslaved nation caused by merciless plunder of at least \$175,000,000 a year, without a cent in return. The British Government in India is more oppressive than the Russian.

People are generally misled to think that India was always a famine-land; but it is not a fact. Before the advent of the British rule in India, famine was occasional, but the British plundering policy has made it chronic. The area of famine districts is increasing yearly, and not a year passes that millions do not fall victims of the dreadful calamity. We produce below statistics taken from Sir William Digby's *Prosperous British India*, to convince our readers of the true situation:

Two British subjects passed away from starvation, or starvation-induced diseases, every minute of every day and night from January 1st to September 30th, 1901.

Rev. J. T. Sunderland, in his work *The Causes of Famine in India*, like all impartial writers, has conclusively proved that neither "failure of rains" nor "over-population" is the cause of famines in India. He has stated that the real cause of famine is the extreme, the abject, the awful poverty of the Indian people caused by "*enormous foreign tribute*," "*British Indian Imperialism*" and the destruction of Indian industries.

Sir William Hunter, K. O. S. I., the

## FAMINES BEFORE THE BRITISH RULE.

In the Eleventh Century, 2 famines, both local

" Thirteenth	"	1	"	around Delhi.
" Fourteenth	"	3	"	all local.
" Fifteenth	"	2	"	both local.
" Sixteenth	"	3	"	all local.
" Seventeenth	"	3	"	general; area not defined.
" Eighteenth (to 1745)	"	4	"	Northwestern provinces: Delhi, Sindh (twice), all local.

## FAMINES UNDER THE BRITISH RULE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

" How completely famine has gained a hold on the Empire may be judged from this summary :

1800 to	1825,	5 famines, perhaps	1,000,000 deaths
1825 "	1850,	2 " " 500,000 "	
1850 "	1875,	6 " " 5,000,000 "	
1875 "	1900,	18 " estimate 96,000,000 "	

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historian of India, formerly of the Viceroy's Council, says: "The government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year."

Mr. Herbert Compton, in *Indian Life*, has this to say:

"There is no more pathetic figure in the British Empire than the Indian peasant. His masters have ever been unjust to him. He is ground until everything has been expressed, except the marrow of his bones."

Hindustan is an extensive agricultural country and the average land produces two crops a year, and in Bengal there are lands which produce thrice a year. Bengal alone produces such large crops that they are quite sufficient to provide *all the population of Hindustan for two years*. It is therefore easy to understand that before the advent of the British in India, lack of means of transportation was the cause of famines; but since their coming, owing to their unjust and merciless taxation, willful destruction of native industries and *never ending plunder*, it would not make any difference if all of India produced a hundred crops a year; our people would still know the gnawing pain of hunger. So we may say that the modern means of transportation has become an instrument for carrying crops away from India to the outside for Great Britain's interest, rather than helping the famine-stricken districts of India.

We will quote a few authoritative statements to support the above facts:

The theory of over-population in India is a myth and we produce a part below from the statistics of the U. S. Government, covering area, population and foreign commerce of the principal countries of the world:

Of the plunder of India Adam Brooks, in *Laws of Civilization and Decay*, says: "Very soon after the Battle of Plassey (fought in 1757) the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London and the effect appears to have been almost instantaneous. . . . Probably since the world began no investment has yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder. The amount of treasure wrung from the conquered people and transferred from India to English banks between Plassey and Waterloo (57 years) has been variously estimated at from \$2,500,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000."

The methods of plunder and embezzlement by which every Briton in India enriched himself during the earlier history of the East India Company, gradually passed away, but the drain did not pass away. The difference between that earlier day and the present is, that India's tribute to England is obtained by "indirect methods" under forms of law. It is estimated by Mr. Hyndman that at least \$175,000,000 is drained away every year from India, without a cent of return.

The following extract from *India and Her People*, by Swami Abhedananda, will give an idea of how the Indian revenue is used for the interest of the British people, and how our people are

Country	Area.	Population	Population per square mile	Year
Austro-Hungary	941,333	47,355,000	196.32	1905
Austria	115,903	97,241,000	233.03	1905
Belgium	11,373	7,161,000	637.95	1906
Denmark	15,360	2,574,000	167.58	1905
France	207,054	39,300,000	189.51	1906
German Empire	208,830	60,478,000	289.80	1905
Italy	110,646	33,604,000	303.71	1905
Japan	147,655	47,975,000	324.91	1906
Formosa	13,458	3,059,000	227.30	1905
Netherlands	12,563	5,592,000	445.12	1905
Switzerland	15,976	3,459,000	216.51	1906
United Kingdom	121,371	43,921,000	356.11	1906
India	1,766,642	294,361,000	166.62	1906

## Young India's Reply to Count Tolstoi

really debarred from higher offices:

"India pays interest on England's debt, which in 1900 amounted to 224 millions sterling, and which annually increases. Besides this, she pays for all the officers, civil and military, and a huge standing army, pensions of officers, and even the cost of the India Building in London, as well as the salary of every menial servant in that house. For 1901-2 the total expenditure charged against revenue was \$356,971,410.00, out of which \$86,843,275.00 was spent in England as Home Charges, not including the pay of European officers in India, saved and remitted to England. These charges were as follows:

1. Interest on debt and management of debt.....	\$15,262,050.00
2. Cost of mail service, telegraph lines, etc., charged to India...	1,136,440.00
3. Railways, state and guaranteed (interest and annuities).....	32,081,865.00
4. Public works (absentee allowances, etc.).....	256,070.00
5. Marine charges (including H. M. Ships in India and Seas)....	866,510.00
6. Military charges (including pensions) .....	14,728,070.00
7. Civil charges (including Secretary of State's establishment, Cooper's Hill College, Pensions, etc.).....	10,176,850.00
8. Stores (including those for defence works).....	10,289,670.00
 Total .....	 \$84,797,525.00

The following again, is a comparative table of salaries paid out:

	Natives	Eurasians	Total Salaries of			
			Europeans	Natives	Eurasians	Europeans
Civil Department	55	10	1,211	\$316,000	\$30,333	\$3,424,666
Military	1	1	854	4,000	3,666	4,422,666
Public Works	3	4	239	11,000	15,000	1,138,353
Incorporated Local Funds	1	...	9	3,333	.....	37,666
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	60	15	2,313	\$334,333	\$68,999	\$14,023,351

We find 421 natives in the civil department, as against 1,207 Europeans and 96 Eurasians. In the military department 25 natives are employed, 1,699 Europeans and 22 Eurasians; while in the department of Public Works, there are 85 natives as against 549 Europeans and 3 Eurasians.

Mr. Alfred Webb (late M. P.), who has studied the subject with care, says: "In charges for the India Office (in London); for recruiting (in Great Britain, for soldiers to serve in India); for civil and military pensions (to men now living in England, who were formerly in the Indian service); for pay and allowances on furloughs (to men on visits to England); for private remittances and consignments (from India to England); for interest on Indian Debt (paid to parties in England); and for interest on railways and other works (paid to shareholders in England),—there is annually drawn from India, and spent in the United Kingdom, a sum calculated at from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000." (Between \$125,000,000 and \$150,000,000.)

Taxation in the British India, as observed by the impartial British writers:

"The present condition of affairs undoubtedly renders the struggle for existence a hard one, as may be realized when it is considered that a vast population of India not only from the inevitable droughts which so frequently occur, but also from a narrow and short-sighted imperial policy which places every obstacle in the way of industrial development and imposes heavy taxes on the struggling people. According to various authorities Russia's demand upon land owners in her Central Asian possessions are not so exacting as are ours in India, for the British Govern-

ment insists on a fifth of the produce, making no allowance for good or bad years; while Russia is said to ask only a tenth and allow for variations of production."

The condition of the people of India is worse than it was fifteen years ago when Sir Archibald R. Colquhom made

the above statement. The taxes imposed upon the people had, been unbearably heavy and since then the demand is growing unbearably heavier. In the twentieth century, when people are advocating the "single tax," there are provinces in British India where the poor peasants are forced to pay 65% of their net income as land-revenue alone.

To substantiate our remarks we quote these lines from *The Causes of the Present Discontent in India*, by C. J. O'Donnell, M. P.:

"In replying to a question of mine (Mr. Donnell's) in April last (1907), Mr. Morley (now Lord) stated that 50% of the net assets is the ordinary standard of assessment of land revenue alone throughout India. Net assets means the annual profit after paying the cost of cultivation, the income, in fact of the former. So we have it admitted that the normal land tax is ten shillings in the pound. The word 'alone' needs explanation. It means that the farmer has, besides his land tax, many other rates and taxes to pay for roads, police, irrigation, public works, etc. Mr. Morley's answer suggested that 50% is the higher limit of land tax throughout India; so a few days later I questioned him definitely in regard to the Central Provinces, giving date and number of the Government of India's order. The reply I received runs thus: 'The rule at present in force in the Central Provinces is that the assessment should not be less than 50% and should not exceed 60%, but in exceptional cases, if the existing assessment has hitherto exceeded 65% and *been paid without difficulty*, it is provided that the assessment shall be fixed at 65%.' It therefore appears that 50% is the lower limit, and it may be 65% if it can be paid without difficulty. We are always assured that the land tax is light and paid without difficulty, which perhaps explains the fact that in the Central Provinces over a million people disappeared—died of starvation, between 1891-1901, as admitted in the census report of the late years."

To give an adequate idea about the way the land revenue is increased even

in famine years, we reproduce the following from the same work:

"The explanatory memorandum to the Indian Budget issued last July by the Secretary of State, gives on page 12, that the total land revenue of the Indian Empire collected in 1905-1906, was \$90,647,860.00 and his own budget of land revenue for the following years, 1901-8, \$97,726,000.00. The increase is \$7,078,140.00, or nearly eight per cent in twenty-four months—roundly at the rate of forty per cent in a single decade."

The following statement by Mr. O'Donnell will prove the real motive of the British Government about the so-called "benevolent irrigation work" in India:

"The capital of \$35,000,000.00 invested in the Punjab canals, yielded in 1906-7 the large net profit of 10½ per cent, whilst in the case of the Chemel Canal it rose to the extraordinary and unhealthy figures of nearly 22 per cent. It was in the Chemel Colonies the bitterest discontent existed."

"The so-called famine relief fund is nothing more nor less than a mere subterfuge of taxing the starving to save the dying. This fund does not rain from heaven, nor does the British exchequer give it. If the British Government spends, says £5,000,000, on the present famine, they will simply squeeze it out of the poverty-stricken surviving tax payers, who would, in turn, become victims of the next drought."

"The British people stand charged with the blood of the perishing millions and the starvation of scores of millions. . . . Under the British Indian despot the man is at peace, there is no violence; his substance is drained away, unseen, peaceably and subtly; he starves in peace with law and order! I wonder how the British people would like the fate? The condition of the Indian people to-day is worse than that of the chattel slaves; because slaves used to get food to eat when they served their masters, but the Indian people work hard, produce and die without food, which the British enjoy."

In speaking of the British policy of bleeding Indian people, Lord Salisbury

says: "The injury is exaggerated in the case of India where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those already feeble for the want of it."

Shall the people of India and the world at large calmly endure the bleeding of Indian people? If not, where is the remedy? In resisting it.

Says Sir William Hunter: "The government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year."

"There is no more pathetic figure in the British Empire than the Indian peasant," writes Mr. Herbert Compton.

"His masters have ever been unjust to him. He is ground down until everything has been expressed except the marrow of his bones."

"The number of human beings in India who subsist in perennial hunger, usually on one meal a day, was estimated by *The Pioneer*, at one hundred millions."

Much has been said by the British officials about the "Famine Relief in India," but it is really a mockery as far as the British Government is concerned. But we are grateful to the American people and others who have contributed to save the life of the starving people of India. No famine relief fund will save the people from the horrible calamity unless the British policy of exploiting the people is stopped.

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### YOUNG INDIA'S REPLY TO COUNT TOLSTOI

By Taraknath Das

#### PART IV

**R**ECENTLY about a dozen Indian Nationalist leaders have been deported from India without any trial. They were deported under the regulation of April 7, 1818. This regulation has different sections and it is an exhaustive one. I quote the principal part of the preamble to show whether or not the regulation is expressive of the greatest amount of self-government consonant with the retention of the dependent status of the people of India.

"Whereas reasons of state embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with the foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of native princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary

to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient grounds to institute any judicial proceedings, or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case, or may for other reasons be inadvisable or improper, and herein referred to; the determination to be taken should proceed immediately from the authority of the Governor General in Council."

From the letter and spirit of the above regulation we see that persons may be put in restraint, against whom there is no sufficient ground to institute judicial proceedings. This idea is contrary to the principles of civil right, and the practice of restraining people without proper judgment is shocking to all who have any sympathy for the principle of civil rights. An individual is supposed to be innocent unless proved guilty of certain crime, and

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the innocent must not be punished or be deprived of personal liberty.

People in general are inclined to think that the British Government in India is a blessing to the people there, because it has guaranteed the people the enjoyment of civil rights; but the enforcement of a law of such an autocratic nature indicates that the people of India under British rule enjoy less liberty in the twentieth century than the British people enjoyed in the thirteenth. In the British Isles the right of trial by jury has long been regarded as one of the bulwarks of liberty.

In the celebrated Magna Charta, granted by King John in 1215, we find the following clause: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized or outlawed, or banished, or any way injured, nor will we pass upon him nor send upon him, unless by the legal judgement of his peers or by the law of the land."

It is against the principle of humanity and justice that because a people are in a dependent state they may be deprived of the privilege of defending themselves from arbitrary executive orders. On this point the British constitution holds that no freeman shall be imprisoned without cause shown, to which he may make answer. The people of India are not slaves; they too are freemen.

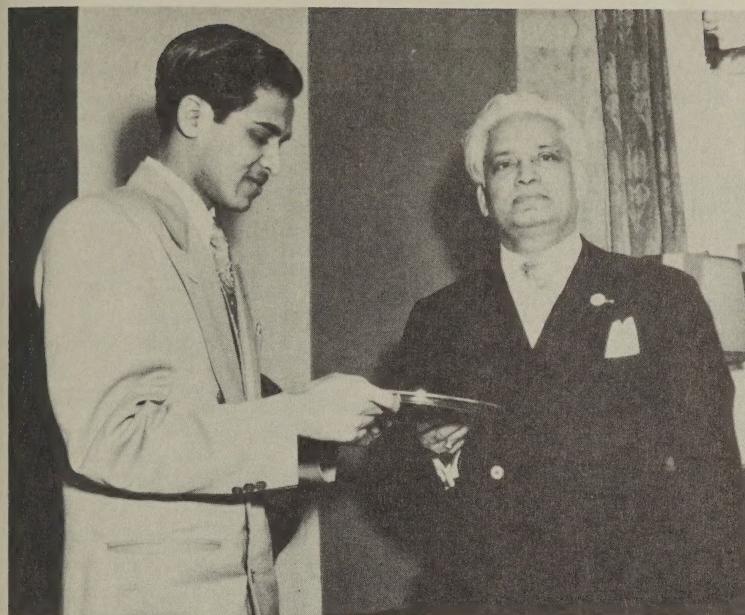
Lord Morley, the eminent philosopher, is the Secretary of State for India now. Every line of his books breathes the idea of liberalism and the dignity of human rights. We of India do not understand why under his *régime* a law has been enforced in India which cannot be justified in any case except when the country is under martial law. Then are we to suppose that India is under martial law?

We see that the Russian Government gives some kind of trial to Russian revolutionists. We have seen that the British Government gave the Zulu leaders a chance of judicial trial. *Why, then, will not the British Government give the Indian Nationalists a chance of defending themselves before tribunals of justice instead of subjecting them to arbitrary deportation?* No people enjoying civil

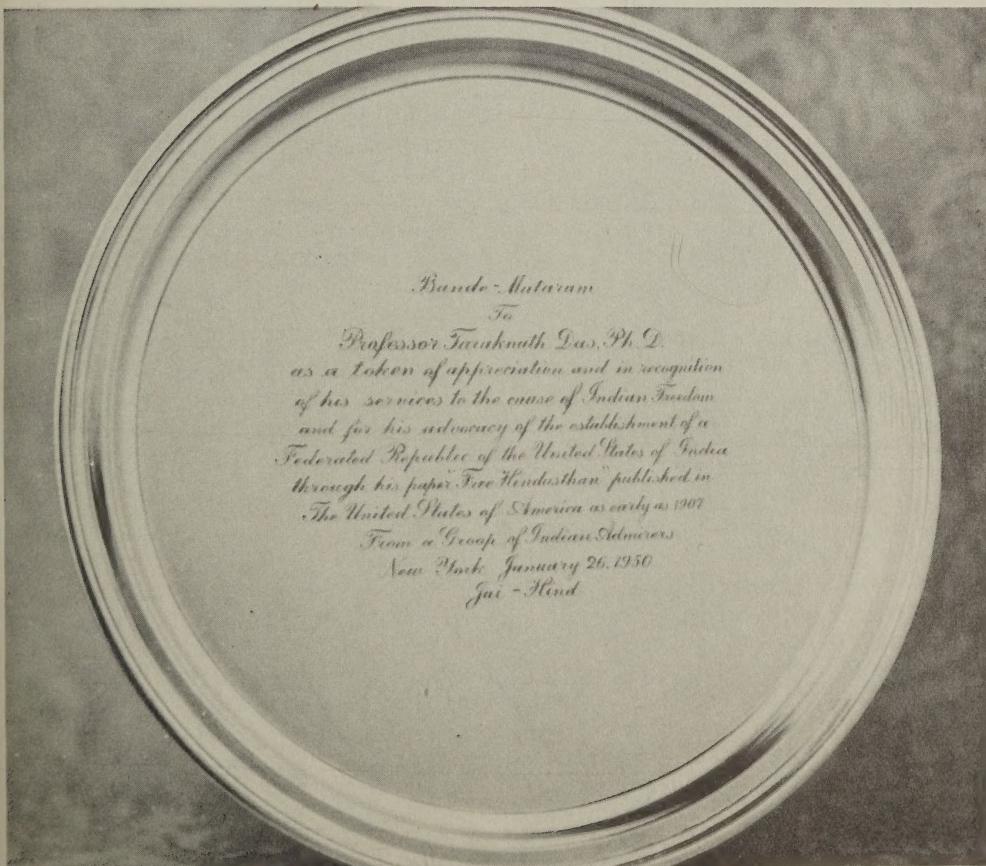
rights and liberty can justify the measures taken by the British Government in India. A state of dependency which denies the people civil rights cannot be justified.

We believe in spirituality, and without spirituality there cannot be a nationality, and this spirituality of nationality is closely akin to service to humanity in general. Love is exquisite, and it is limitless; but self-preservation is also the first law of nature. When all means of escape are cut off, shall we embrace a deadly, poisonous snake, leave it alone, or resist it? The British Government is a deadly, poisonous snake in its inner nature, although outwardly covered with the garments of civilization, a deadly civilization, which you have denounced in your letter.

For the sake of self-preservation of the Indian people as well as others, and for the sake of love for humanity, we need activity in resisting aggression from without or within. Attainment of true manhood and womanhood is our aim and aspiration. We declare with all the emphasis that we can command, that it lies in the attainment of our national freedom. Slaves can never acquire ideal manhood or womanhood, simply because they are slaves, simply because they cannot get the opportunity. There is no question about the theory that slaves may have the same quality, power and faculty latent in them that are in a free people, but they cannot get any opportunity to cultivate and make the best use of them. This is not all; we hold the view that cultured men or women lose manhood or womanhood if they are put in slavery for a long time. Imprison a full grown sky-lark in a cage for a few years, and you will see that the sky-soaring bird has lost the power to fly even a few yards. Try to make it fly; it will not like to do it. It is the same thing with a nation as it is with an individual. Put a nation in slavery and the people lose their finer instincts. *Attainment of perfect manhood and womanhood through national independence is our goal.* We want to reconstruct the social, political and economic machines in operation in India



On January 26, 1950, the day India declared itself a sovereign republic, a group of Indians in New York presented a plaque to Dr. Das "in recognition of his services to the cause of Indian Freedom and his advocacy of the establishment of a Federated Republic of the United States of India through his paper, 'Free Hindusthan,' published in the United States as early as 1907."



## Young India's Reply to Count Tolstoi

which have forced over thirty millions of people within the last forty years to an untimely death by starvation. If we cease to exist, who will practice love? If the Indian people want to live, they must get rid of the British Government.

Sir, you have stated: "In the absence of the true religious consciousness and the guidance of conduct flowing from it, lies the chief, if not the sole cause of enslavement of the Indian people by the English." The true religious consciousness is, according to your estimation, "manifestation of love with non-resistance"; but history does not prove it to be so. We see the flourishing days of India in the first part of the Buddhistic age and prior to that time, but as soon as the Indian people began to lose their active spirit, with the growing spirit and practice of non-resistance, preached by the Buddhist monks, there came the downfall. India saw again her brighter days when Sankaracharya denounced the corrupt Buddhistic practices and preached the active religion of Vedanta philosophy. The idea of non-resistance has led the people of India to dullness and fatalism, and fatalism has led them to ignorance and superstition, and there is the remote cause of our downfall. We want to eradicate by activity the superstition of fatalism arising from the idea of non-resistance.

We are not complaining that the British have enslaved us, but we are enslaved because of not resisting the wrong principle of tyranny which you have so well described. You have made no distinction between the oppressive rule and the government of the people. We believe in the government of the people, which must not be oppressive. As soon as we advocate resistance, we are not submissive to tyranny or coercion, and you have said: "The submission of the Hindoos to coercion is the cause of their enslavement to the British Government." According to your letter, we understand that the British Government in India is a self-inflicted calamity of the Indian people, and we want to avert this calamity by the performance of our self-imposed duty towards our country. We

have chosen, once for all, the liberation of India from the foreign yoke as our solemn duty to our country, and shall ask our countrymen to take up the work as long as they are within the limit of duty. We firmly hold to our principle and declare with you that Love is God, but at the same time assert that the Divinity is best represented in humanity, and *resistance to despotism is the first of all human duties*. We do not know what were the guiding principles of the people in days of yore, but according to history, we think we are progressing. We cannot believe that the world was once governed by love only and has retrogressed to its present stage, because we believe in the law of eternal progress. The economic history of the world provides us with accounts of cannibalism, feudalism, slavery, serfdom, civil war, religious torture, and so on, which are no more in existence. We find instances of Christ dying on the cross, Buddha preaching love, Krishna and Ram fighting to do away with the tyrannical form of government, as a sure proof of the prevalence of some principles other than love at all periods of the world's history.

We are not influenced so much by the Western teachers as by our own teachers, Ram and Krishna. Krishna taught us in *The Gita* to "give up your lethargy and effeminacy and rise up to fight the battle for the right." He also says: "Whenever the righteousness is dwindled by the acts of the unrighteous, I incarnate myself in the shape of popular spirit to save the followers of the right and truth and destroy the evil." Modern psychology dictates that reintegration and creation are correlative, so we again say that the principle of resistance to tyranny is *not* inconsistent with the spirit of love.

We advocate freedom of India for the sake of service to humanity and resistance to tyranny, and shall continue to do the same as long as it exists.

Our program is: (1) absolute self-government; (2) national education; (3) development of Indian industries, agriculture and commerce; and (4) no starvation caused by foreign exploitation.

We pray aid from humanity at large.